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SLAVERY, POLITICAL IDEOLOGY AND WHITE RACIAL RESENTMENT

Legacies of American Slavery in the South and the Effect of Political Ideology: A Multilevel Analysis of White Racial Resentment Towards African Americans*

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Word Count = 12,814

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to explore whether the historical institution of slavery in the United States is manifested in contemporary white racial resentment towards African Americans through engaging institutional replication, racial threat, and intergroup contact theories. A central hypothesis of this study, too, seeks to unveil the predictive ability of political ideology on white racial resentment. Present differences in the residential integration of blacks and whites at the county-level is hypothesized to be a mediating factor in the relation between the presence of slavery in 1860 and attitudinal measures of current white racial resentment as well as between political ideology and this study's dependent variable. This study analyzes three distinct sources of data: the proportion of slaves in 1860 counties is derived from the U.S. Census Bureau, the contemporary county demographic data derive from the 2014-2018 five-year American Community Survey (ACS), and individual-level data are sourced from the 2018 Cooperative Congressional Election Study ($n = 8,963$). The population of inquiry is narrowed so as only to involve data on white individuals residing in the antebellum and postbellum South. The findings show that the relationship between proportion slave and racial resentment (prior to the inclusion of political ideology within HLM analysis) is a result of the type of individuals who reside within these counties. Although black-white integration is nonsignificant, this study accents conservative political ideology as a potent determinant of higher white racial resentment consistent with insights of prior research. *Ceteris Parabis*, a plethora of county and individual level variables also included reveal statistically significant. Altogether, these results illuminate the grip of political ideology in the current era on attitudes related to race and provide fruitful foundation for further research.

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Legacies of American Slavery in the South and the Effect of Political Ideology:

A Multilevel Analysis of White Racial Resentment Towards African Americans

In 1860, the year directly prior to the American Civil War, the slave population throughout the South comprised 32 percent of this geographic region's aggregated population. Although by 1865 slavery had been proscribed, its legacy persisted through subsequently established practices, namely chain gangs, and systems of social segregation (i.e. Black Codes and later, Jim Crow laws). These policies worked to maintain the oppressed and subservient position of African Americans during the century following the abolition of slavery—the legacy and evident extensions of which still endure to this day.

At its foundation, in addition to detailed analysis of the effects of contemporary political ideology on attitudes towards race, this study endeavors to explore the relationship between the historical institution of slavery in the United States and present attitudes surrounding the position and circumstance of African Americans within society today. As the prevalence of chattel slavery in the North had dissipated by 1860, the counties in this line of inquiry have been selected to only include those in the antebellum and postbellum South. Existing scholarship, too, provides supplemental rationale for the exclusion of the North in this analysis, alerting the reader to the difference in regional effects of slavery on the individual (Acharya, Blackwell, and Sen 2018).

The inveterate extensions of racial animus in the United States must not only be scrutinized at the macro institutional level, but likewise at the level of the agent. For this reason, among others, this study is propelled by the desire to ascertain whether whites currently residing in counties that encompassed relatively sizable slave populations in 1860, report attitudes reflective of high racial resentment towards African Americans (as compared to those who live in counties that had minimal slave presence in their past). An index is created to operationalize the racial resentment

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of white individuals populating these counties at present, the results of which are then employed in an analysis of the lasting effects of slavery within and across Southern counties. Further, this study integrates dissimilarity indices to consider whether increased exposure between blacks and whites in certain counties acts as a mitigating factor reducing the effects of slavery on levels of current reported racial resentment.

The institutional replication theory asserts that a country's unique history informs the macro and micro functioning of its contemporary society, bearing on both institutional structures and intricacies of interpersonal interaction. Thus systems of the past, whether or not formally dismantled, are relevant to present studies of durable inequality. This study applies the aforementioned theoretical framework in positing the lineage of racial tensions within the United States to be embedded in the historical institution of slavery.

Intergroup contact theory, credited to Gordon Allport, is another premise upon which the proposed analysis rests. In antebellum South, although there were gradations in the types of encounters, equal status interaction between whites and blacks was not realized. In particular cases, the child of a slave positioned in a role of domestic servitude might bond with the child of a slave master, however relations of this genre were ephemeral as socialization into the hierarchical structure of society was conventionally assured. This separatism undoubtedly contributed to the preservation of racially discriminatory doctrines and did not allow for the interracial interaction which could have sooner rendered possible, in history, the emergence of a perception of blacks founded in humanity and similarity rather than misperceived difference. To explore the intricacies of present-day race relations, this theory is employed via the use of dissimilarity indices to gauge the impact of intergroup contact on racial resentment towards African Americans.

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The integration of racial threat theory is also core to this analysis. Specifically, its application is used to forward understandings of the relationship between past discriminatory practices, working to the detriment of African Americans, and present attitudes. This theory posits that increased outgroup presence is identified as an emerging threat to the interests of ingroup populations as a result of a perceived variation in power dynamics, thus resulting in negative ingroup sentiment towards a given outgroup. As past literature suggests, this perceived threat has corollary effects which can be seen, for instance, within voter support of policies which principally and adversely affect African American populations. I extend these past findings to reason that perceived threat rooted in the Reconstruction Era (which marked a shift in the positioning of blacks— Black Codes acting as one rejection of this shift) has impacted on present white racial resentment. This rationale is founded in the supposition that counties with high slave legacy would have been most impacted by the abolition of this institution, leading heightened racial threat in the late 18th century to demonstrate in heightened racial resentment today. The infliction of social control, in this case towards the subsistence of racial hierarchy between blacks and whites, is core facet of threat theory. Applying this to the time period following the emancipation of slaves: an attempt to maintain the white social control that existed prior to the abolition of chattel slavery is evidenced by the immediate criminalization of African Americans— the exploitation of blacks finding new outlet within practices such as convict leasing.

The present analytic approach diverges from that of certain group threat literature in that, as aforementioned, this study does not hypothesize greater integration between blacks and whites in counties today to elevate resentment (as a result of perceived threat and ensuing ingroup hostility). Rather, it conjectures, adhering to principles of contact theory, that integration between races will engender an environment of less white racial resentment towards blacks and will allow

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for better relations between races to emerge. In summation, this study rests threat theory in the post-Civil War Era and contact theory in contemporary times.

It is evident that considerable social and political reform at all levels of society is necessary to address the pressing factors that not only maintain but propel racial inequality today. Although in the past decade progressive activist platforms and movements have gained traction, with the current presidency the existence and pervasiveness of harmful and racist and xenophobic mentalities have become indisputable (Bobo 2017; Perea 2018). For this and other reasons, inquiry into the source of certain attitudinal positions as potential historical extensions is especially important and revealing work. Informed by past scholarship, the function of political ideology is principally investigated as well to discern its influence on racial resentment within the present political climate (Acharya et al. 2016; Acharya et al. 2018; Baumer et al. 2003; Jacobs et al. 2005; Jacobs and Tope 2007; King et al. 2009; Mears et al. 2019). Thus, the findings of this study have practical implications in that they might be applied to better inform policy approach to inequality and feed into a larger body of scholarship foregrounding the role of history, political ideology, race and perception in the perpetuation of certain societal ills.

Through recognizing the factors that condition the evolution of individual perception, this sociological approach to issues of institutional injustice seeks to illuminate certain social contours that have enabled their persistence. Returning to the initial research inquiry reviewed above, this study explores the following conjectures: (1) white individuals in counties with prominent legacies of slavery in 1860 will exhibit higher racial resentment towards African Americans than white individuals in counties with notably low levels of slavery in that year; (2) white individuals who are conservative will score higher on the racial recent scale than either moderates or liberals; and (3) white racial resentment in locales with less segregation between racial groups today will be

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lower than in locales with greater segregation between racial groups. Specifically, I hypothesize that the higher the proportion of slaves in a given 1860 county, the higher the racial resentment of white individuals presently residing within that county; and that the more conservative an individual reports, the greater their racial resentment. Accounting for the distributions of whites and blacks within counties, this study also hypothesizes a mediating effect: that the higher a given county presently scores on the dissimilarity index, the higher the racial resentment of white individuals presently residing within that county. To be a mediator, the dissimilarity index would have to lower the effect of the 1860 proportion of slaves at the county-level and/or impact upon the predictive ability of political ideology on white racial resentment. Refined attention to relevant theory further frames the rationale of this study's method and conceptual approach.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Institutional Replication Theory

Within studies of contemporary social and political institutions, inquiry into the distinct history of a locale is principal in revealing the interconnectedness of the past and the present. Advancing the argument for diachronic consideration, the institutional replication theory posits that historical institutions (whether or not formally dismantled) are manifested in present societal systems and can prove highly influential in the maintenance of durable inequality (Bateman and Teele 2019; Beeman, Glasberg, and Casey 2010; Crowe 2012; Crowe 2014; Mears, Warren, and Arnio 2019; Quillian 1996; Ruef and Fletcher 2003; Stevenson 2014; Vandiver, Giacomassi, and Lofquist 2006; Walker-DeVose et al. 2019; Walters 2012). Thus, to divorce social structures from their origins is to discount the authority of the past on the present, which can be detrimental to a comprehensive acknowledgement of the complexities within contemporary societies and their orchestration.

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Enduring anti-black sentiment is not solely perceptible within evinced attitudes and ideology, but also within legislation and institutionalized practices today (Acharya et al. 2018; Feldman and Huddy 2005). The corporeal implications of racist sentiment, for example, are evident within the criminal justice system, extending from the practice of convict leasing and chain gangs to mass incarceration and exploitation of prison populations in the 21st century— all of which have been equated to forms of enslavement in absence of the weighted nomenclature of slavery (Alexander 2010; Browne 2007; Lopez 2010). It is critical that researchers, policy makers and the general populace are erudite to the ways that public psychology and historical affairs have intertwined, via voter inclination and micro-interactions, to the disadvantage of African Americans today (Knuckey and Kim 2015).

The theory of racial resentment forwarded by Maxwell and Schulte (2018) couples socialization of the individual to the intergenerational transmission of racial resentment, pointing to another nuance within the institutional replication theory. Maxwell and Schulte (2018) contend that the deep-seated white denial and refutation of the African American struggle for equality, instilled in the agent at a young age through the conflation of negative feelings toward African Americans and conservative, nonracial moral values, is source to the perpetuation of discriminatory ideology. Founded in the field of historical sociology, this study's approach towards its inquiry requires cogitation into the socialization processes that forward the subsistence of racial resentment to this day. The chief tenet of this theory offers strong connection to the present study as ideological threads passed down through generations and institutions are broadly explored (Acharya et al. 2018; Jennings and Niemi 1968; Jennings, Stoker, and Bowers 2009).

To effectually address the deeply troubling racial realities of contemporary society, research on institutional and ideological dimensions of society as historical inheritances aim to

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provide empirical data in support of informed policy and civic awareness. The institutional replication theory is situated as the foundation for the present study as it provides further rationale, theoretical—and by extension—practical, for the positioning of slavery (a marked phenomenon that embodies the lineage of racial tension in the United States) as a determinant of white racial resentment in Southern counties today. The activist dimension of this and similar studies are vital to the reform potential of this expanding body of literature.

Racial Threat Theory

There are several competing perspectives surrounding the genre of impact (i.e. adverse or constructive) that increased exposure between groups might elicit— racial threat theory submitting one. This theory contends that increased outgroup or minority presence will be received as an unfolding threat to the ingroup due to transformations in demographic composition, thereby worsening relations between the ingroup and the outgroup.

The operative and causal association between white racial animosity directed towards blacks and white perception of black threat (both patent within discriminatory socio-institutional practices, reported ideologies, and codified policies) is explored in reciprocal terms—i.e. threat fosters antipathy and vice versa. Such analyses argue the link between perceived threat and projected hostility and articulate the importance of studying these links to encourage the substantive understanding of their interactive effects and to produce change (Baumer, Messner, and Rosenfeld 2003; Dixon and Rosenbaum 2004; Jacobs, Carmichael, and Kents 2005; Jacobs and Tope 2007; Mears et al. 2019).

Predominantly, this study applies racial threat theory to the years subsequent to the Civil War, beginning in the Reconstruction era, as a stark shift in the African American situation (and, an emerging potential for hierarchical rearrangement as a result of emancipation) fostered in whites

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a heightened sensation of threat due to the juxtaposition of black positionality a few years prior. Political endeavors such as the implementation of Black Codes intended to reestablish the “antebellum status quo” through curtailing the rights—social, economic and political—afforded to newly freed African Americans surfaced in direct response to this perceived threat to white ascendancy (Acharya et al. 2018; Brown University 2006; Roscigno and Bruce 1995; Tolnay and Beck 1995; Walters 2012).

Altogether, the integration of this theory fortifies the infrastructure of this study’s hypothesis founded in the linkage of slave legacy and white racial resentment. Moreover, the premise of this hypothesis not only lies within the forecast that individuals in counties of high slave legacy will report greater racial resentment today due to their immediate confrontation with these racist hierarchies in ante- and postbellum eras, but because counties reliant on slavery would have been impacted more by its abolition (economically and otherwise) than those with less dependence on this institution.

Intergroup Contact Theory

The intergroup contact theory offers another lens through which to regard and study the implications of narrowed proximity between groups in its assertion that this heightened exposure facilitates conflict resolution and diminished prejudice from which improved intergroup relations can evolve. The canons of this theory thereby have an expansive reach in their application—germane to conversations focused on residential segregation and the racial divisions in the United States’ education system, to those focused on individually embraced attitudes. Studies centering the psychological imprints of interracial exposure and that which impede their leveling over time are indispensable as, particularly during a child’s formative years, racially heterogeneous interactions permit novel relationships and understandings of dissimilar identities, which might

otherwise remain unrealized (Dhont and Hiel 2012; Maxwell and Schulte 2018; Sinclair et al. 2005).

Although the study at present integrates the intergroup contact theory into analysis of contemporary race relations, Cook et al. (2018) employ points of this theory in their discernment of a practical effect of segregation across the white/black binary via attention to racial dispersion within 1880 Southern counties, just following Reconstruction. Their research reveals the lynching of blacks to have been perpetrated at a higher frequency in counties with less exposure between races, suggesting the profound impact that racial separation has had on white animus towards blacks in the past. These findings escort us to the exploration of the authority racial integration might have on the riddance of individual animus rooted in prejudicial ignorance.

It is important to recognize the context in which this theory is employed, too, as its hypothesis surrounding intergroup interaction is temporally-dependent— in that, improved relations develop over time rather than instantaneously. To present a clarifying example related to the study at hand: exposure between blacks and whites (void of ‘slave’ and ‘slave owner’ labels) during and post Reconstruction induced relations imbued with amplified hostility towards blacks, who were the target of violence and hateful ideology. Although this reality is indisputable, it was the integration of races and the emergence of Civil Rights movements in the 1940s that fundamentally allowed for the alleviation of white prejudice against blacks. By the same token, greater racial equality over time was in large part due to the pronouncement of progressive mentalities and laws towards the equal treatment of races (Acharya et al. 2018; Kinder and Mendelberg 1995). It must be noted that this alleviation of white prejudice is largely in reference the presentation of overt prejudice and necessitates thought to the indisputable preservation of furtive prejudice interlaced within dominant social institutions. Intensely problematic structures

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withstanding, the Civil Rights movements together with the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 enabled unprecedented black enfranchisement and advanced further progressive action in the decades to follow (Acharya et al. 2018).

As this framework shows, it is distinctly important that the intergroup contact theory not only be employed in the contemplation of contemporary race relations but also in the contemplation of those in the future, as the valuable function of intergroup exposure might become apparent in longitudinal studies conducted in the ensuing decades.

Theoretical Critique

Critique directed towards the integration of theory within this piece might largely be founded in the diverging perspectives of racial threat and intergroup contact theories—specifically, criticism of the former will be found in the latter and vice versa. Contact theorists might argue the validity of this study’s application of threat theory, accenting the benefits of intergroup interaction and rejecting the assertion that increased integration within predominantly white spaces during the Reconstruction Era fostered lasting prejudice to the detriment of blacks. Conversely, threat theorists might find fault in this study’s use of contact theory and the hypothesis that reduced segregation between blacks and whites will improve relations across racial lines, as they would contend that perceived threat would intensify and that prejudice of the ingroup would be more fastened as a result.

Furthermore, as I relate the substance of racial threat theory chiefly to past circumstance in which there was great rigidity and less allowance for progressive thought, I am alert to the criticism this might receive given the political climate during which this study is conducted. That is to say, as the Trump Era has foregrounded prejudiced mentalities persistent (and their prominence) in certain sectors of society, a reader of this study might arraign my theoretical reasoning with focus

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to the newfound ‘validation’ of racist attitudes realized under this political administration. Advancing this logic, threat theorists might argue the necessity of relating threat theory to both past *and* present circumstances as Trump’s doctrine would ipso facto promote increased resentment in counties with more intergroup exposure.

Summation

The formerly delineated theories centering institutional replication, racial threat, and intergroup contact hypotheses are individually and collectively employed towards the formulation of this study’s inquiry and logistical rationale. The latter two theories, acknowledging the function and nature of the socio-political conditions at a given time, are applied to distinct epochs in North American history— namely (and respectively) to the years directly following the de jure emancipation of African Americans from a system of enslavement and to modern-day times.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The present study endeavors to explore whether the historical institution of slavery manifests itself in contemporary white racial resentment towards African Americans. Careful examination of political ideology’s effects on racial resentment is also engaged at the forefront of this analysis. This section provides an overview of past research employed to inform and refine the approach of the study at hand with attention to four distinct themes related to: the impact of history on the present, the position of political partisanship on issues centering race, the reception of outgroup presence as a threat to the ingroup, and the role of intergroup contact in improving relations across racial lines.

Historical Impacts on the Present

Studies have examined the prevailing implications of historical enmity towards African Americans, variously operationalized, via attention to racist sentiment as it might appear in

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bureaucratic practice and white decisions (Acharya, Blackwell and Sen 2016; Bafumi and Herron 2009; Bobo and Kluegel. 1993; Enos 2016; Feldman and Huddy 2005; Greenwald et al. 2009; Jacobs et al. 2005; Kinder and Mendelberg 1995; King, Messner, and Baller 2009; Meer and Nayak 2015; Perea 2018; Reece and O’Connell 2016; Taylor and Mateyka 2011). Jacobs et al. (2005) analyze lynching data to quantify historical animus in their study on the implementation of capital punishment today. Their research finds that the historical residue of violence directed towards blacks, postbellum, and present perceived racial threat is positively related to increased jurisdictional death penalty sentences. Expressly that: places with high levels of both past vigilantism (in the form of lynching) and present African American presence have greater proclivity to rely on death penalty sentences.

Further insight into contemporary inequalities as products of structures in the South and the legacy of slavery therein, has also been unveiled within other domains—the education system being one. Specifically, the manifestation of slavery in present disproportionalities between public-private school enrollment of blacks and whites has been one revealing focus of study. In their research, Reece and O’Connell (2016) find that white enrollment in public schools is notably lower within counties of greater slave legacy, illuminating the varied arenas in which past racial separation can be seen to have adverse effects today. Accented by the conclusions of Jacobs et al. (2005) and Reece and O’Connell (2016), the disparities visible within the criminal justice and education systems are instructive of that which must be amended in society as well as the deeper societal ailments in which these issues are rooted.

Literature also indicates the impact of racial tensions pervasive throughout U.S. history on individual mentality, and the critical implications of this (Jacobs et al. 2005; Mears et al. 2019; Price et al. 2008). To submit one example, Mears et al. (2019) find that heightened black criminal

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threat was perceived by individuals residing in Southern counties (as compared to those who did not reside in the South) in which the practice of lynching had been of greater prevalence. This finding provides support for the statistically positive relationship between racially motivated practices of the past and present attitudes that my study hypothesizes. Additional concretized explanation for the extensions of the past into the present is imparted through the finding that parental racial resentment is positively associated to child racial resentment (Maxwell and Schulte 2018; Sinclair et al. 2005). This asserts the power and influence of socialization on the individual. The acknowledgement within Maxwell and Schulte (2018) that children are found to embrace lower levels of racial resentment (although, relatively still quite high) than their parents, however, denotes a certain degree of progressive movement forward and prompts inquiry into what has allowed for this intergenerational dilution of racial resentment. Along this vein, the current study considers increased exposure between blacks and whites since Reconstruction, allowing for postbellum perception of racial threat to be offset by novel interaction, as a potential source to this attitudinal change.

The findings of the above-mentioned studies display the reverberations of history within a contemporary context. All-inclusive, this literature argues the importance of situating past institutions as focal points of study, regardless of the progress (or lack thereof) that has been realized since their erection, to better understand the institutions that dictate the operations of society today. The present research endeavor recognizes and forwards this argument within its theoretical and methodological approach and is thus imbued with substantive political and social implication of great import to society at large.

Political Ideology and Race-Related Issues

Studies of variegated approach find the distinct impact of political ideology on select

dependent variables focused on race-related topics (Acharya et al. 2016; Acharya et al. 2018; Baumer et al. 2003; Jacobs et al. 2005; Jacobs and Tope 2007; King et al. 2009; Mears et al. 2019). For example, the conclusions of Baumer et al. (2003) present the impact of political ideology on support for death penalty, finding that respondents who reside in geographic areas in which the political climate is moderately conservative (rather than liberal) are more likely to support this practice. Rooted in data on actualized death penalty sanctions (from 1970 to 1990 in ten southern states) and along a similar thread of thought, Jacobs et al. (2005) find that state conservatism is associated with black death sentences at $p < .001$, whereas it is not associated with all death sentences until $p < .05$. In other words, conservativeness, although both a predictor of black death sentences and overall death sentences, is a larger predictor of the former than the latter within these states. The conclusions of Jacobs and Trope (2007), too, note the abated support for liberal legislation subsequent to increased minority presence, foregrounding the practical and macro level implications of attitudes held. With distinct focus to voting behavior, this study positions right-wing voting as a public mode of countering a perceived loss of social control. These and similar findings further nudge the reader towards consideration of the interaction between conservative political affiliation and the production of adverse racial realities.

Increased Out-Group Presence Is Received As a Threat to the In-Group

Existing literature inquire into the injurious function of increased exposure between individuals of divergent racial groups, specifically between individuals possessing ingroup and outgroup statuses—i.e. in the case of this study, white and black, respectively (Billingham and Hunt 2016; Corzine et al. 1983; Craig and Richeson 2014; Reece and O’Connell 2016; Jacobs and Tope 2007; Jacobs et al. 2005; Pettigrew, Tropp, and Christ 2011; Quillian 1996; Works 1961). A large subdivision of this past research evaluates the impact diversification and perceived threat of

an outgroup can have practically in the realm of policy (Corzine et al. 1983; Jacobs and Tope 2007; Jacobs et al. 2005). Tracing an effect of outgroup presence on progressive policy, the results of Jacobs and Tope (2007) show that diminished support for liberal legislation occurs following the expansion of minority populations, suggesting the emergence of conservative ideologies as a result of racial heterogeneity. Furthermore, as of 2007 (the year in which their study was conducted), the inverse relationship between African American presence and votes for liberal measures in the House of Representatives was not observed to be diminishing. With a similar pursuit in mind, Enos (2016) found that white voter participation was higher in places with greater minority presence and that conservative voting was of greater prevalence in these regions as well. The practical implication apparent through the absence in support for liberal policy and white voting inclinations signifies the function of perceived black threat in white voting behaviors. Additionally, the interaction between postbellum lynching and black jurisdictional presence noted in the previous subsection (which was found to, when compounded, affect the prevalence of death sentences) emphasizes the relationship between past and present circumstance in the production of contemporary sanctioned violence—practiced largely to the adverse effect of blacks (Jacobs et al. 2005).

Perceived racial threat, evident through ingroup election to opt out of spaces with increased outgroup presence, is similarly reflective of the separatist mentalities and hierarchies of the past (Fairlie and Resch 2002). The finding that black students are more likely than white students to attend public schools as black concentration enlarges (such that the association is increasingly marked at higher levels of black concentration) offers further empirical evidence of the historical fibres of our past that afflict our present (Billingham and Hunt 2016; Reece and O’Connell 2016). This reality is particularly concerning given the role of parental socialization in a child’s formation

of their own racial understandings. If children of an ingroup are not exposed to comparable members of an outgroup, they will not be equipped with much information (aside from that they might hear, of disputable verity) to construct their view of the world and the groups contained therein, instilling parental socialization with amplified dominion and ability (Sinclair et al. 2005; Dhont and Van Hiel 2012; Maxwell and Schulte 2018). In discussions of inequality and inequity across societal substrata, these studies exhibit the need to center the intricacies of past and present racial interaction towards an inclusive appreciation of that which molds our society today.

Intergroup Contact Ameliorates Race Relations

As previously mentioned, the supposition that exposure between groups of differing identities works to improve relations is highly pertinent to present-day race relations. Relational amelioration is theorized to evolve through dismantling stereotypes and preconceived notions, which might be achieved by or accompany exposure between groups. This germ of thought is particularly poignant given this country's history of racial segregation and the role this had in maintaining biases and structures founded in the separation of peoples (Acharya et al. 2018; Seitles 1998). Through the conjecture that heightened knowledge, awareness and acceptance of other groups will emerge as a result of group integration over time, the present study formulates the hypothesis that intergroup contact will reduce the impact of slave legacy on contemporary white racial resentment.

Recognized research records the distinction between interactions of quality versus interactions of quantity in studying the effects of intergroup contact on the individual (Dixon 2006; Johnston and Glasford 2018). Dixon (2006) finds that when blacks and whites form close relationships with one another, stereotypes are disconfirmed, whites feel less threatened and subsequently, express less prejudice. A revealing caveat, however, emerged: whereas simply

knowing members of Hispanic and Asian populations was sufficed in reducing white prejudice towards these groups, in order for positive affects to materialize towards blacks, whites had to both know and have an intimate relationship with a member of this racial group. These results accent the need to reveal that which has precipitated and agitated white prejudice towards blacks (as compared to other racial minorities) to such a degree that it white prejudice is of greater fixity when geared towards blacks. The study at hand explores the institution of slavery as a source to this fixity. Similar to the findings of Dixon (2006), intergroup contact marked by quantity was observed to have minimal effect on an ingroup's intention and commitment to aiding an individual of a racial outgroup; whereas this was not accurate to intergroup contact marked by quality, which resulted in greater ingroup helping intention and commitment through instilled empathy (Johnston and Glasford 2018). Evidently, these studies highlight the involved and variegated nature of relations between blacks and whites, exhibiting how relationship closeness can impact on white actions and mentalities.

Exterior to focus on this quality/quantity paradigm of closeness, researchers have endeavored to expose the comprehensive function of intergroup contact in reducing white anti-black sentiment (Kinder and Mendelberg 1995; Robinson 1980; Sigelman and Welch 1993; Works 1961). The conclusions of these studies foreground the ability of social and residential interaction between groups to temper harmful preconceptions.

Situating the Present Study

This study investigates the indelible impact of this country's discriminatory past and the manner in which attitudinal filaments, sewn across history, manifest in contemporary society. This study's interest, too, lies in its investigation into the influence of political ideology on racial

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resentment as well as in its pursuit to detect how county segregation might mediate the grip of slave legacy and political ideology on contemporary attitudes towards African Americans.

As reviewed above, past literature integrates the racial history of the United States—some directly utilizing slave counts to operationalize this, others employing lynching or other data, to study its impact on present conditions of African Americans realized through reported ideology and voter support for certain policies (e.g. death sentences). Embedded within this literature, the current study offers important contributions. Centrally, in adopting a quasi-historical approach, this study seeks to illuminate the manner in which the past racist institution of slavery is evoked in a contemporary context. This analytic pursuit is distinctly important in the context of the political climate under the Trump administration which further necessitates the use of political ideology measures within this consequential evaluation. Furthermore, few research initiatives have sought to connect slave legacy to present attitudes of resentment. This is a study of great import and defined practical implication via its consideration of the interactions between historical institutions and individual mentalities. In sum, the present study endeavors to procure a more holistic understanding of societal functioning towards an end of substantive reform.

DATA AND METHODS

Data

Derived from three distinct sources, this study uses county level data (set in two time periods: 1860 and 2018) together with individual level data (2018, only). To measure the prevalence of slavery in a given county—i.e. slave legacy (a key independent variable), this study employs the data assembled by O’Connell (2012) which maps the boundaries of 1860 counties onto contemporary county boundaries and indicates slave proportion (relative to total county population) by modern county. As O’Connell (2012) indicates, the slave proportion and 1860

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county boundaries are derived from the 1860 Census data. The remaining 1860 county-level covariates are extracted from data provided by Acharya et al. (2018) which further untangle the conditions of these environs prior to the de jure emancipation of slaves.

All of the contemporary county demographic data derive from the 2014-2018 five-year American Community Survey (ACS) estimates and are collected at the county level— with the exception of the Dissimilarity Index, the data for which are aggregated up from the tract-level to that of the county. The county level estimates produced by the ACS (with a response rate of 98%) are aggregated from a representative survey of approximately three million households in the United State annually conducted by the US Census Bureau. Further, to reduce single year error for smaller geographies, the ACS averages county-level indicators over three and five years. Further information on how the data were collected can be found on the United States Census Bureau website: <https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/acs/methodology.html>.

Individual-level data are sourced from the 2018 Cooperative Congressional Election Study (CCES) (Schaffner, Ansolabehere, and Luks 2019). Conducted by YouGov over the Internet, the CCES incorporates a nationally representative sample of 60,000 surveyed adults (interviewed in two waves: for pre-election data in October 2018 and for post-election data in November 2018) using matched random sampling and situates the individual as its unit of analysis. For the purposes of this study, however, the sample is limited to 8,963 respondents who have indicated “white” as their identified racial category and are residents of Southern states, as defined by the U.S. Census Bureau (See Appendix A). Although these two categorical criteria were most influential in reducing the immensity of this study’s population, excluding missing data on each of the variables also had a notable impact. As responses to the CCES are opt-in from the YouGov panel, response rate is not calculatable for this data source. For further information on how the data were collected

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consult the pages of the CCES 2018 Guide which can be downloaded on the Harvard Dataverse website: <https://cces.gov.harvard.edu>.

Variables

Racial Resentment. A composite scale intended to capture individual racial resentment towards African Americans, this study's dependent variable, was produced using five distinct variables. The variables incorporated within the scale prompted respondents to score the following statements on a Likert scale (1 = strongly agree, 2 = somewhat agree, 3 = neither agree nor disagree, 4 = somewhat disagree, 5 = strongly disagree): "Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors" (r); "Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class," "Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve," "It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough, if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites" (r), and "White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin." Two of the five questions (marked by an r in parentheses above) within this scale are coded such that disagreeing would indicate a lack of racial resentment and thus were reverse coded prior to their inclusion in this scale. The Cronbach's alpha for this scale is .925, indicating a high level of reliability.

1960 County-Level Covariates. Several variables presenting 1860 county characteristics are included to better apprehend the historical factors that impinge upon individual racial resentment today. One of the two hypothesized explanatory variables in this study resides within this category: Proportion Slave (where 0 indicates no slave presence and .867 indicates 86.7 percent slave presence). Proportion Free Black is measured and interpreted within the same parameters—though evidently in relation to the population of free, rather than enslaved, blacks in

1860. In a previous study, Acharya et al. (2018) observed that several county-level land and farming conditions were important covariates in predicting contemporary attitudes. Following their work, I control for: Proportion Small Farm, Land Inequality, Rail Access, Water Access, Farm Value per Acre, and Ruggedness. Respectively, these variables measure: the proportion of farms in the county smaller than 50 acres, the log of total farm value per improved acre of farmland in the county, county access to rails, county access to steamboat-navigable rivers or canals (these two measure of accessibility meant to comment on the ability for and genre of trade and commerce available), and the ruggedness of the county terrain (Acharya et al. 2018). Although the present study does not hypothesize the effect of these controls on racial resentment, they are included in the models to rule out potential spurious and mediated relationships

2018 County-Level Covariates. While the relationship between the legacy of slavery and present-day racial resentment is the primary focus of this study—alongside discernment of the explanative power of political ideology on the dependent variable— contemporary county-level attributes may play an intervening role, too. Therefore, this study controls for a number of contemporary county-level characteristics. Measures of county-level segregation have also been involved via use of the Dissimilarity Index. On this measure, a value of 0 indicates complete evenness in dispersion between blacks and whites, and 1 indicates complete segregation. The Gini Index is a measure of economic inequality and is to be read on the same numerical scale as the formed index mentioned: a 0 indicates perfect equality and a 1 indicates perfect inequality. This study measures individual embeddedness in their county of residence at the county-level through the application of the Proportion Housing 20 Years variable. This variable denotes the proportion of individuals within counties who have lived in their present locale for twenty years or more, similarly on a scale 0 to 1. Proportion Black in County provides a calculation of the racial

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composition of the counties within this study—a 0 revealing a county with no black occupancy, and 1 revealing a county constituted entirely by black individuals. [insert sentence about white-black income ration]. Total Population is measured numerically so that 0 would indicate no inhabitants to a county, 250,000 would indicate a quarter of a million inhabitants, and so forth.

2018 Individual-Level Covariates. Supplement to those at the county-level, this study incorporates individual level measures in its evaluation of racial resentment. The inclusions of the variables listed below are informed by previous literature and theorized to affect individual racial resentment (Acharya et al. 2018; Feldman and Huddy 2005; Quillian 1996; Taylor and Mateyka 2011). Political ideology, the second variable directly hypothesized to be predictive of this study's dependent variable has been relabeled conservatism in correspondence to its scaling from very liberal to very conservative (1 = very liberal, 2 = liberal, 3 = moderate [referent], 4 = conservative, 5 = very conservative, 6= not sure). The inclusion of this variable as principal within this paper is founded in the findings of past literature as well as assessments of contemporary politics. A series of variables are introduced as controls, too, to study the effects of the demographic factors conjectured to impinge upon individual reported racial resentment. Initially measured 1923 to 2000, the variable reporting respondents' years of birth has been recoded to age and ranges from 18 to 95. Though at the individual-level, the Residence Permanence functions akin to the Proportion Housing 20 Years variable, via its conceptual purpose to discern the impact of one's embedded ness within their county of residence; this variable is measured by the number of years the respondent has resided in their current locale. Educational attainment (1 = no HS, 2 = HS grad, 3 = some college, 4 = 2-year college, 5 = 4-year college, 6 = post-grad) is, too, predicted to have a positive association with racial resentment—founded in informed conjecture. Religious affiliation and the perceived importance of religion to the individual are analyzed. The former

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(originally measured: 1 = Protestant, 2 = Roman Catholic, 3 = Mormon, 4 = Eastern or Greek Orthodox, 5 = Jewish, 6 = Muslim, 7 = Buddhist, 8 = Hindu, 9 = Atheist, 10 = Agnostic, 11 = Nothing in particular, 12 = Something else) has been specified into two dummy variables—Protestant, and Roman Catholic/Eastern or Greek Orthodox (the two religions within the latter dummied category are paired as they are more closely allied in faith tradition and liturgical styles). Religious importance has been reverse recoded so that: 1 = not at all important, 2 = not too important, 3 = somewhat important, 4 = very important. Further, for statistical analyses the family income variable has been recoded from an ordinal level variable to an approximate interval level one by replacing each income category with its midpoint value,(See Appendix B). This variable was then divided into four income categories so that it is measured: 1 = less than \$10,000 to 29,999 [referent], 2 = \$30,000 to \$60,999, 3 = \$70,000 to \$119,999, and 4 = \$120,000 to \$500,000 or greater. To explore the potential impact of an economic shift, a variable reporting an Increase in Family Income (past year) is included and reverse recoded: 1 = decreased a lot, 2 = decreased somewhat, 3 = stayed the same, 4 = increased somewhat, 5 = increased a lot. Employment status (initially coded: 1 = full time, 2 = part-time, 3 = temporarily laid off, 4 = unemployed, 5 = retired, 6 = permanently disabled, 6 = housemaker, 7 = student, 9 = other) is another measure integrated and has been dummied to Employed Full-Time. Along a similar vein, a dummy variable indicating whether a respondent has Lost a Job in the past year is analyzed. Further, a reverse recoded calculation of political interest asks respondents to indicate 1= hardly at all, 2 = only now and then, 3 = some of the time, or 4 = most of the time, to the open ended question: “Would you say you follow what’s going on in the government and public affairs....” This study then proceeds to situate two dummied measures intended to indicate the medium through which news is absorbed: Read Newspaper, and Watch TV, both in reference to activities engaged in the past 24 hours. The final

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variable included in this study integrates a measure of the type of area in which an individual is residing (1 = city, 2 = suburb, 3 = town, 4 = rural area, 5 = other); for the purposes of this study, this variable has been dummied into City and Rural.

Analytic Strategy

This study employs Hierarchical Linear Modeling (HLM) in its evaluation of the relation between county slave legacy and individual racial resentment to address the shared variance and non-independence of cases. The present study estimated all models with random effects on county. This method of analysis addresses the fact that individuals residing within the same county will share county level covariates and, thus, similarity between these individuals (as compared to individuals residing in different counties from one another) will be greater than we might expect to be a result of random chance.

RESULTS

[Insert Table 1 about here]

[Insert Figure 1 about here]

[Insert Figure 2 about here]

For this study's dependent variable, racial resentment, Table 1 records a mean of 3.28. As there is a disproportionate number of cases that fall near the maximum category of five, there is a leftward skew visible on the kernel density plot for this variable (Figure 1) which is indicative of the appreciable anti-black sentiment within the counties of concern. Further, Table 1 presents that on average slave populations comprised 28 percent of antebellum southern county populations with 17 percent variance in either direction. The rightward skew on the corresponding kernel density plot indicates the large concentration of individuals from counties

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that had between 10 percent and 40 percent slave populations in 1860 (Figure 2). For information on the remaining variables in this study, all descriptive statistics can be found in Table 1.

[Insert Table 2 about here]

Turning to the hypothesized relationships, exhibited in Table 2 are the results of the hierarchical linear models that estimate the predictive ability of proportion slave in 1860 and political ideology, along with a host of other covariates, on this paper's measure of racial resentment. Four models appear in this table, all of which are run with random effects: Model 1 involves only the 1860 county-level variables, Model 2 appends 2018 county-level variables to those presented in model 1, Model 3 adds to this cumulative index the individual-level variables of this study absent of the political ideology measure, and Model 4 presents all variables upon its inclusion of political ideology. The latter two models are separated to better identify the statistical power of political ideology explored in past scholarship. The variables within the full equation are discerned to explain approximately 53 percent of the variance on the racial resentment scale; the findings which constitute this result are examined below.

The central finding of this study is disclosed within the final two models of the iterative regression (Table 2). The results reveal that counties with higher proportions of slaves in 1860 are those in which individuals presently report higher racial resentment. However, the nonsignificant relationship that surfaces when controlling for political ideology (along with other individual level factors) intimates that the relationship that existed between proportion slave and racial resentment in Model 3 is a product of the type of individuals who reside within these counties, i.e. conservatives, rather than being product of that which is endemic to the county.

Apropos to political ideology, the moderate category has been designated as the referent group to isolate where this variable's effect resides. In alignment with past literature that has

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unveiled the influential position of partisanship in molding the outcomes of issues surrounding race, political ideology is strongly associated with racial resentment (Acharya et al. 2016; Acharya et al. 2018; Baumer et al. 2003; Jacobs et al. 2005; Jacobs and Tope 2007; King et al. 2009; Mears et al. 2019). This conclusion is patent across the series of political ideology dummy variables, which are available in Table 2, and the finding that political ideology explains 21 percent of the variance on the dependent variable. The tertiary hypothesis, however, appears unsupported across the three models in which the regressor of focus (the dissimilarity index) is inserted; this rejection is apparent through the nonsignificant association between a county's score on the dissimilarity index and racial resentment at the agential level.

The two county and individual level measures of embeddedness (Proportion Housing 20 Years and Residence Permanence, respectively), present statistical significance within HLM. These operationalizations provide entryway into discerning the effects of location on individual attitudes and might, too, point to the role of intergenerational transmission of racial resentment. In evaluating the effects of the proportion variables it is of import to orient oneself to the fact that they are measured from 0 to 1—with 1 equating to 100 percent. For instance, when interpreting the aforementioned county-level measurement of embeddedness, the coefficient listed in Model 4 shows that for every 10 percent increase in the proportion of individuals within a county who have not relocated for twenty years, there will be approximately a .0867 point increase in the racial resentment of individuals within that county.

Two other covariates at the 2018 county-level produce intriguing results, the first of which manifests this study's measure of economic inequality, the Gini Index. The results on this variable indicate a negative relation between county income inequality and racial resentment, particularly that individuals who reside in counties of greater inequality that foster less racial resentment.

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Although this certainly requires further comprehensive analysis, this finding is poignant in that it might be assessed to substantiate the idea that individuals unexposed to the acute injustices that pervade society possess less empathy for those afflicted. Proportion Black in County, too, offers an apposite result in light of the third hypothesis of this study that engages a measure of dispersion between blacks and whites (the Dissimilarity Index) discerned to be insignificant. Proportion black is found to have a mild yet significant association with racial resentment, specifically divulging that individuals within counties with a greater proportion of African Americans will exhibit higher levels of racial resentment towards this racial group.

While it is beyond the purview of the hypothesized relationships, a number of other controls were also found to be statistically significant (Table 2). These controls include: proportion small farm, ruggedness, age, female, education, catholic/orthodox, religious importance, increase in household income, employed full-time, lost a job, political interest, read newspaper, watch television, city, rural, and the latter two of the four family income categories.

DISCUSSION

There are innumerable approaches to be engaged in the operationalization of racial animus, past and present— each accompanied by their own merits, rationales and discrepancies. Whereas the present study involves 1860 slave proportions and white racial resentment towards African Americans in its operationalizations, previous literature has studied other variables intended to measure variations of racial animus. Past operationalizations have included lynching, convict leasing, voting inclination, and racial disparities exhibited within residential composition, school enrollment and the criminal justice system. Inquiry into these enumerated arenas has worked within a resolve to better apprehend the intricate appearances of racism today (Acharya et al. 2018;

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Billingham and Hunt 2016; Cook et al. 2018; Corzine et al. 1983, Fairlie Resch 2002; Reece and O'Connell 2016).

[Insert Figure 3 about here]

The major result of this study finds that the proportion of slaves within antebellum counties in the South is positively associated with contemporary racial resentment—though, as its evanesced significance in the final model substantiates, this result fundamentally points to heightened racial resentment as a mark of individual characteristics rather than those intrinsic to the county itself. The findings conclusively stress the authority of conservative political ideology on white racial resentment and provide further commentary on the polarization of the political arena today. Figure 3 evidences the striking liberal-conservative divide. The lines representing individuals on the liberal side of the spectrum exhibit a completely opposite trend from that which is captured through the direction of lines representing individuals on the conservative side of the spectrum. To call upon specific data points: 76 percent of respondents in the “very liberal” category score between one and two on the racial resentment scale (indicating minimal racial resentment) whereas only .8 percent of respondents in the “very conservative” within this scale range. A similar yet inverse dissonance between conservative and liberal attitudes can be seen on the other end of the graph in that 65 percent of respondents in the “very conservative category” score between four and five on the racial resentment scale whereas three percent of respondents in the “very liberal” category score between four and five. These percentages evoke the incontrovertible split between conservatives and liberals today on matters related to race.

As overviewed within the literature review section of this paper, select previous literature inquiring into both similar and dissimilar race related topics also find conservative political views to have a palpable effect when involving partisanship variables (Acharya et al. 2016; Acharya et

al. 2018; Baumer et al. 2003; Jacobs et al. 2005; Jacobs and Tope 2007; King et al. 2009; Mears et al. 2019). Attention to conservative politics might also benefit the numerous studies that have not considered the effect of the prevalent political ideologies in a given locale on race related arenas. For instance, incorporating a measure of aggregated conservativeness in the context of studies on public school enrollment disparities might work to discern whether regional conservative climate is a predictor of the racial homogeneity of public-school systems (Billingham and Hunt 2016; Fairlie Resch 2002; Reece and O'Connell 2016).

Moreover, though the dissimilarity index appears nonsignificant in the regression equation, the positive association between the proportion black in county and racial resentment in the final model might suggest a challenge the third hypothesis of this study which conjectures that counties exhibiting less segregation will be associated with lower white racial resentment, in favor of the intergroup contact theory. The finding instead substantiates arguments within racial threat literature through revealing increased exposure between whites and blacks, or increased black presence, to provoke heightened racial resentment of whites towards blacks. The implications of this association might well be reflective of an unfortunate truth about contemporary race relations which must be understood towards an inclusive understanding of the ecological variables conducive to the intensification of racial resentment.

The institutional replication theory must be returned to, as the results provide notable insight into the manifestations of the chattel slavery within contemporary reported racial resentment—however, statistical significance between slave legacy and racial resentment upon the inclusion of the political ideology variable indicating the power of individual attributes rather than those of the county. This study finds conservatism to be the strongest predictor of high racial resentment, explaining approximately 21 percent of the variance on the dependent variable. This

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recorded finding proves incredibly telling of the polarization between liberal and conservative ideologies and illuminates crevices of the political realities that divide contemporary society and function to the detriment of African Americans. Furthermore, in advancing the conclusions of Acharya et al. (2018), this finding reveals the heightened rigidity of conservative ideologies of relevance to present discourse centering the interaction between race and policy as it relates to the persistence of hegemonic structures and the limitations of social progression.

CONCLUSION

The present does not operate in isolation of the past; instead, necessarily, the former operates as an extension of the latter, thus rendering the two inextricable. With particular focus on Southern states, this study endeavors to reveal the extent to which the institution of slavery, and the convictions that allowed for its persistence, are evident in contemporary racial resentment of whites towards African Americans. Specifically, the two leading hypotheses of this study assert that (1) the higher the proportion of slaves in a given 1860 county, the higher the racial resentment of white individuals presently residing within that county, and (2) the more conservative the individual the higher their racial resentment. Continuing, the function of county-level black and white dissimilarity is also explored through a hypothesized mediating effect founded in the prediction that: the higher the segregation between whites and blacks in a given county, the higher the racial resentment of white individuals presently residing in that county. To assess these hypotheses, this study employs three sources of data: the U.S. Census Bureau provides statistics from 1860 reporting on the distribution of slaves at the county level, the remaining 1860 county-level covariates are extracted from data provided by Acharya et al. (2018); the 2014-2018 five year ACS estimates provide the contemporary county demographic data encompassing black-white proportions at the county level (allowing for the calculation of dissimilarity indices); and the CCES

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provides information towards the construction of the racial resentment index and the inclusion of the individual level covariates ($N = 8,963$). The findings evince the overwhelming effect of conservative politics on white racial resentment, net of all other variables, and prompt further inquiry into the position of political ideology and racist institutions historically embedded.

The conclusions of the focal intrigue of this study, centering the inquiry into whether the racial past of the United States endures within a contemporary context, accent the influence of conservative politics and the sharp polarization of the political arena in a climate predicated on principles of binary opposition in which the “conservative democrat” is a rarity. As such, we are impelled to cogitate on the practical and theoretical implications of this finding. A host of past literature has pointed to the reality that phenomena of the past are ingrained and, to a certain degree, subsist to dictate the functioning of society’s present circumstance. This study intimates (via its specific operationalizations) that past racial animus might be located today as the product of individual characteristics rather than congenital conditions of counties themselves.

The results presented in this paper stress the importance of continual analytic engagements that explore the differing ways in which legacies embedded in history might currently present or have dissipated. The routes of attitudinal preservation and change within Southern counties since the late nineteenth century might be engaged to extrapolate the effect, for instance, of the increased mobility of individuals residing within the United States as well as the effect of the proliferation of individuals, whose familial lineage originates elsewhere across the globe, to the North America. These factors along with Civil Rights movements might also have influential bearing on attitudinal transformations and dispersions of racist convictions across counties.

There are a number of other intriguing findings surfaced within this analysis that are beyond the purview of the current paper but raise provocative questions for future studies of

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racial resentment— e.g. those focusing individual political interest and shifts in economic situation, *ceteris parabis*. Altogether, and with focus to the results of greatest salience in the context of this analysis, the findings alert us to the great import of continued research magnifying present societal functionings with intentional regard to historically fixed systems of oppression.

Limitations of the Present Study and Recommendations for Future Research

As maintains across all research, this study is not without limitations in its operationalizations and method. Afflicting the United States' past and present, racial animus and prejudice towards African Americans can neither be accurately captured in a single equation nor without consideration of historical lineages of racist exhibitions. Rather, a multitude of variables and definitions must be involved in order to account for the variegated nature of racist exhibitions in society— some more disguised than others. This research advances the study of but two measurements of racial animus in relation to one another: 1860 slave proportions and racial resentment. Thus, although the selection of these variables has allowed for important recognition of the effect of conservative politics on attitudes surrounding race, it must be acknowledged that these variables are limited in their scope and ability to unveil the intricacies of past and present expressions of racism. For this reason, consideration of other variables, either supplement to those within this study or in lieu of them, is critical for informed scholarship to ensue.

Conversation of deficiencies in operationalizations might also be applied to variables of this study with focus exterior to racial animus. To present one application: this study inserts residence permanence as an indicator of the embeddedness of an individual in their county of residence, which is but one measurement approach. As this embeddedness might better be assessed through use of a different variable or conceptualization, future research might consider the impact of the length an individual has resided in the south relative to their age (thus, proportionally), or

might explore counties in which generations of the same family lineage have persisted so as to study the effect of intergenerational transmission and region on racist expressions and attitudinal measures. Similarly, future studies should investigate the merits of other concentration and intergroup exposure measures excepting the dissimilarity index.

Future research, too, must continue to be informed and prompted by past literature. The findings of the present study accent the importance of further inquiry into the position of conservative political ideology in contemporary racial discourse and interactions at policy and interpersonal substrata. As such and towards this end, ensuing studies of similar subject-matter might benefit from the foregrounding or inclusion of political ideology or partisanship measures. Extensions of this and previous research should also inquire into practical implications, perhaps investigating the extent to which reported attitudes surrounding race translate to actualized voting behavior. This genre of study could, to a point, elucidate the congruity or lack thereof between attitudes that might impact more so at a micro level and those that might have particular macro or policy-level implication.

Perusing past literature might also allow for the development and use of inventive operationalizations where applicable. For example, Acharya et al. (2018) operationalize white attitudes towards blacks prior to emancipation through use of data on the number of slaves per dwelling and proportion of slave deaths to white deaths in a given year. Similar novel quantifications must continue to be appraised in longitudinal, comparative and other analyses to develop an inclusive illustration of the inimical interactions between race and society in the United States. Such license in measurement might also propel examinations of the interaction between racial threat and intergroup contact theories and actualized concretized principles of institutional replication.

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Aggregating to a county level, as done in pockets of previous research, might also better serve the analytic purpose of this class of study given the dissimilar units of analysis involved, and thus the appropriateness and merit of aggregation should be assessed for compatibility within the context individual studies. As subsequent analyses are engaged, their efforts must continue to be founded in informed rationale.

Final Remarks

It is with the exploration of a variety of mechanisms and measurements that we are provided lens through which to discern the scars that racial brutality and hierarchies, pervasive in U.S. history, engrave in our present. Advancing from the sweeping and indisputable racist demonstrations of the past, the patent and latent manifestations of racism in contemporary society continue to impede racial progress and adversely impact upon the lived experiences of many. Accompanied by serious scrutiny into the position of political ideology in molding contemporary realities, exhaustive inquiry into the extensions of this country's racial past not only has historic theoretical implication but is of profound consequence to the enactment of effectual policy and informed social advocacy. In a period of global crisis, the systemic inequalities and disadvantage in the United States have become increasingly incontrovertible and the political divides sharply defined. Scholarship and advocacy organizations must continue to engage critically with past and present race relations so that the source of these injurious institutions can be profoundly recognized and addressed.

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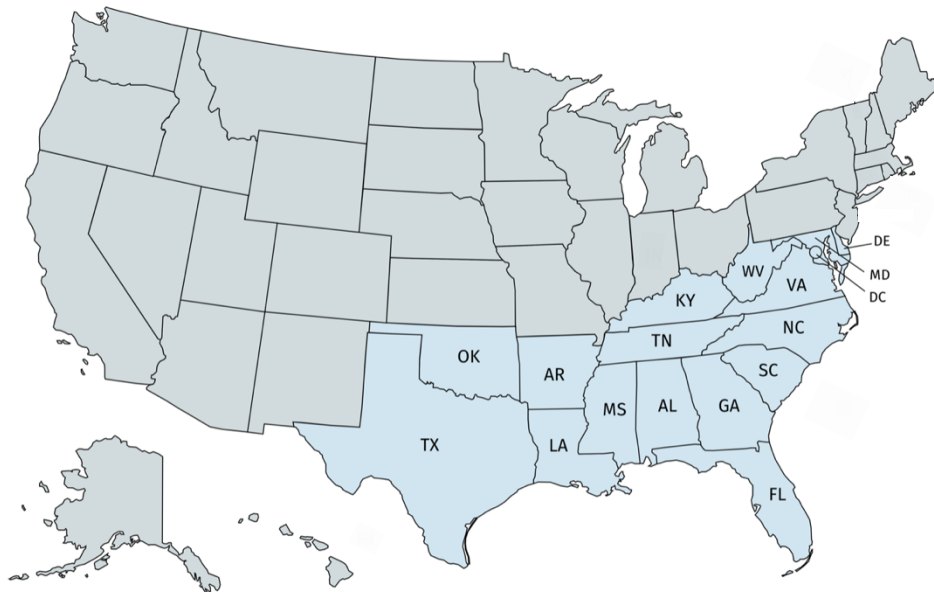
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Appendix A.

Southern States— as defined by the U.S. Census Bureau ($N = 17$, including DC)

- Alabama
- Arkansas
- Delaware
- District of Columbia
- Florida
- Georgia
- Kentucky
- Louisiana
- Maryland
- Mississippi
- North Carolina
- Oklahoma
- South Carolina
- Tennessee
- Texas
- Virginia
- West Virginia



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Appendix B.

“Thinking back over the last year, what was your family’s annual income?”

Income Category	New Income Value
less than \$10,000	\$5,000
\$10,000 - \$19,999	\$15,000
\$20,000 - \$29,999	\$25,000
\$30,000 - \$39,999	\$35,000
\$40,000 - \$49,999	\$45,000
\$50,000 - \$59,999	\$55,000
\$60,000 - \$69,999	\$65,000
\$70,000 - \$79,999	\$75,000
\$80,000 - \$99,999	\$85,000
\$100,000 - \$119,999	\$110,000
\$120,000 - \$149,999	\$135,000
\$150,000 - \$199,999	\$175,000
\$200,000 - \$249,999	\$225,000
\$250,000 - \$349,999	\$300,000
\$350,000 - \$499,999	\$425,000
\$500,000 or more	\$500,000

Note: The income categories
were originally coded 1 to 16.

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TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics on All Variables ($N = 8,963$)

	Mean	S.D.	Min	Max	Median
Racial Resentment	3.280	1.280	1	5	3.40
Proportion Slave	.276	.174	0	.867	.263
Farm Value Per Acre 1860	42.534	27.371	4.809	226.3	33.871
Proportion Small Farm 1860	.465	.27371	.039	1	.434
Land Inequality 1860	.479	.080	0	.789	.489
Rail Access 1860	.439	.496	0	1	0
Water Access 1860	.515	.500	0	1	1
Proportion Free Black 1860	.021	.038	0	.262	.005
Ruggedness	39.21	44.243	2.106	334.972	25.594
Dissimilarity Index	.423	.108	.011	.766	.429
Gini Index 2018	.459	.033	.368	.576	.460
White-Black Income Ratio	1.567	.525	.508	19.605	1.548
Proportion Housing 20 Years	.254	.068	.119	.514	.249
Proportion Black in County 2018	.181	.137	.004	.838	.152
Total Population	522590.1	804901.7	4841	4602523	245592
Age	52.743	16.662	18	95	54
Female	.523	.500	0	1	1
Residence Permanence	17.056	15.913	0	93	12
Education	3.813	1.541	1	6	4
Protestant	.488	.500	0	1	0
Catholic/Orthodox	.145	.352	0	1	0
Religious Importance	2.851	1.172	1	4	3
Family Income					
<10,000 to 29,999	.207	.405	0	1	0
30,000 to 60,999	.303	.460	0	1	0
70,000 to 119,999	.262	.440	0	1	0
120,000 to <500,000	.227	.418	0	1	0
Increase in Household Income (Past Year)	3.250	.856	1	5	3
Employed Full-Time	.406	.491	0	1	0
Lost a Job (Past Year)	.048	.213	0	1	0
Political Interest	4.407	.845	2	5	5
Read Newspaper (Past 24 Hours)	.439	.496	0	1	0
Watch Television (Past 24 Hours)	.673	.469	0	1	1
City	.191	.393	0	1	0
Rural	.261	.439	0	1	0
Political Ideology					
Very Liberal	.109	.312	0	1	0
Liberal	.157	.363	0	1	0
Moderate	.283	.450	0	1	0
Conservative	.267	.442	0	1	0
Very Conservative	.185	.388	0	1	0

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Table 2. Iterative Regression between Racial Resentment and Thirty One Variables ($N = 8,963$)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	
	<i>B</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>S.E.</i>
Proportion Slave	.232*	.347***	.239**	.108	.073
Farm Value Per Acre 1860	-.003***	-.001	.000	-.000	.000
Proportion Small Farm 1860	.262*	.425***	.288***	.210***	.064
Land Inequality 1860	-.434*	-.011	-.261	-.150	.142
Rail Access 1860	-.137***	-.061	-.027	-.020	.024
Water Access 1860	.026	-.058	-.045	-.015	.023
Proportion Free Black 1860	-1.51**	-2.067***	-.685	-.500	.307
Ruggedness	-.000	-.002***	-.001***	-.001*	.000
Dissimilarity Index		-.099	.091	.099	.108
Gini Index 2018		-2.592***	-1.352**	-.980**	.374
White-Black Income Ratio		-.029	-.015	-.020	.019
Proportion Housing 20 Years		3.331***	1.264***	.867***	.175
Proportion Black in County 2018		-.153	.106	.227*	.090
Total Population		-1.54e-08	1.38e-08	5.11e-09	1.43e-08
Age			.011***	.006***	.001
Female			-.294***	-.118***	.020
Residence Permanence			.002*	.002*	.001
Education			-.149***	-.102***	.007
Protestant			.179***	-.003	.027
Catholic/Orthodox			.248***	.136***	.032
Religious Importance			.248***	.048***	.011
Family Income					
<10,000 to 29,999				-	-
30,000 to 60,999			-.011	-.050	.027
70,000 to 119,999			-.006	-.073*	.030
120,000 to <500,000			.011	-.072*	.033
Increase in Household Income (Past Year)			.306***	.133***	.012
Employed Full-Time			.024	.065**	.022
Lost a Job (Past Year)			.258***	.188***	.045
Political Interest			-.184***	-.106***	.013
Read Newspaper (Past 24 Hours)			-.324***	-.190***	.020
Watch TV (Past 24 Hours)			-.144***	.095***	.021
City			-.203***	.072**	.026
Rural			.150***	.092***	.025
Political Ideology					
Very Liberal				-1.264***	.035
Liberal				-.874***	.030
Moderate				-	-
Conservative				.625***	.026
Very Conservative				.866***	.030
Constant	3.568***	3.667***	2.645***	3.411***	.179
Wald Chi ²	84.01***	408.48***	4251.83***	10270.60***	
R ² Within	.009	.038	.314	.529	
R ² Between	.202	.376	.891	.964	
R ² Overall	.012	.044	.323	.535	

* $<.05$; ** $<.01$; *** $<.001$; County Random Effects

Figure 1. Kernel Density Plot on Racial Resentment

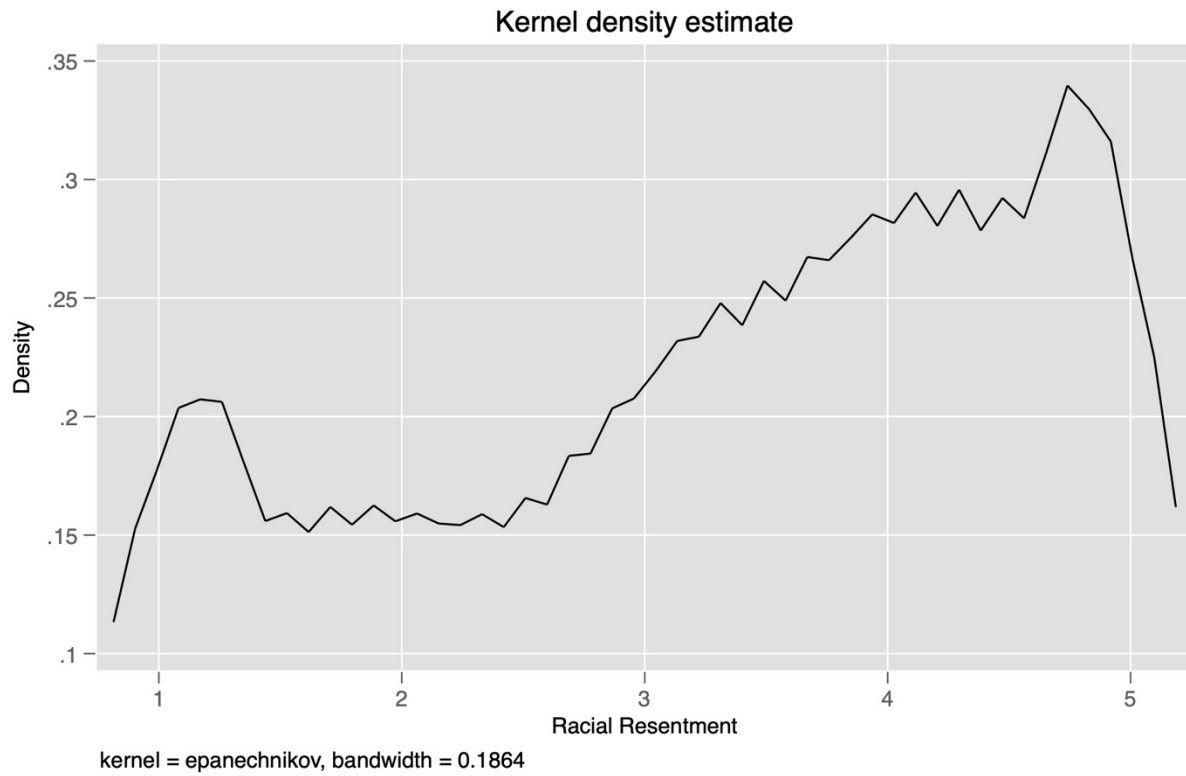
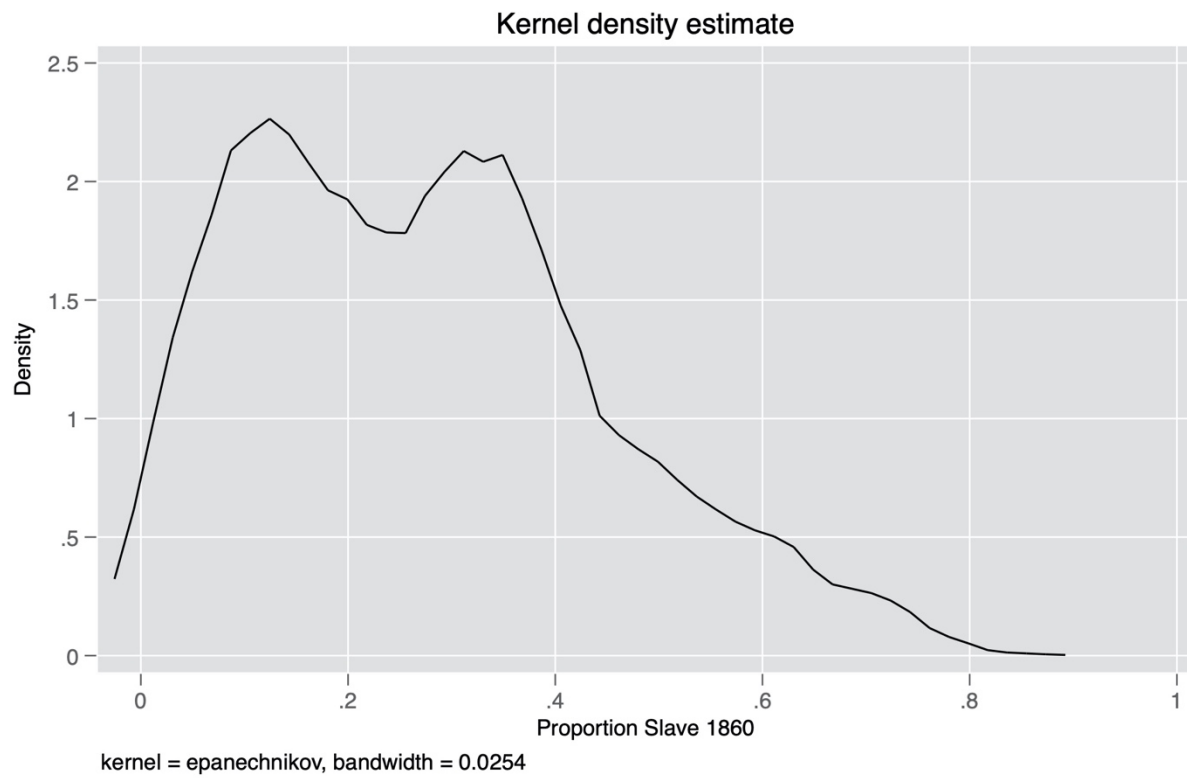


Figure 2. Kernel Density Plot on Proportion Slave in 1860



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Figure 3. Line Graph of Political Ideology and Racial Resentment

